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LOOKING BACK AT THE EUROPEAN OCCUPATION
(TAPE INSERTS AVAILABLE IN LIBRARY)

ANNCR:

MANY OF THE IMPORTANT LEADERS IN THE ALLIED VICTORY OVER NAZI GERMANY HAVE NOW PASSED FROM THE SCENE. BUT SEVERAL OF THOSE WHO HELPED SHAPE U.S. POLICY AFTER WORLD WAR TWO, GATHERED RECENTLY AT A CONFERENCE IN THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. MARK DILLEN HAS THIS REPORT FOR VOA:

VOICE:

THE CONFERENCE WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS THE U.S. OCCUPATION IN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR TWO, AND TO EVALUATE U.S. POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF WHAT FOLLOWED. THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE CONFERENCE WAS A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION INVOLVING FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION AVERILL HARRIMAN AND SEVEN OTHER KEY U.S. OFFICIALS WHO HANDLED THE OCCUPATION OF THE AMERICAN ZONES IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

ALL THE PARTICIPANTS AGREED ON TWO POINTS -- THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES' DECADE OF OCCUPATION WAS INTENDED TO REBUILD GERMANY INTO A DEMOCRATIC, INDEPENDENT STATE -- AND THAT THE WEST HAD TO TRUST THE SOVIET UNION TO KEEP ITS PROMISE TO DO THE SAME IN THE PART OF GERMANY IT OCCUPIED.

FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL PAUL NITZE SAID THAT AMERICAN DELEGATES TO A POST-WAR MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN ADVISORY COUNCIL THOUGHT THAT THE FOUR-POWER OCCUPATION OF GERMANY WOULD BE SHORT-TERM, AND THAT THE ZONES WOULD THEREAFTER BE ABOLISHED.

BUT MISTER HARRIMAN, WHO WAS THEN SERVING AS U.S. AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW, SAID OTHER U.S. OFFICIALS WERE MORE SKEPTICAL. "WE KNEW THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE GOING TO IMPOSE A COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN THEIR ZONE," HE SAID. "WHEN THE DECISION WAS MADE THAT THERE SHOULD BE ZONES OF OCCUPATION, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT AUTOMATICALLY DIVIDED GERMANY."

MISTER HARRIMAN SAID THE SOVIET UNION WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT GERMANY NOT REGAIN ITS FORMER POWER AND GAVE NO THOUGHT TO REMOVING SOVIET OCCUPATION FORCES. HE SAID STALIN EXPECTED HE COULD DOMINATE ALL OF EUROPE:

TAPE: HARRIMAN

"HE THOUGHT, I'M CONVINCED MYSELF, THAT WESTERN EUROPE WAS IN SUCH AWFUL CONDITION, THAT NOT ONLY COULD HE DOMINATE EASTERN EUROPE, BUT THROUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTIES -- NOT BY THE ADVANCE OF THE RED ARMY -- BUT THROUGH THE COMMUNIST PARTIES THAT WERE VERY STRONG IN ITALY AND FRANCE, THOSE GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE TAKEN OVER AND THE WHOLE OF WESTERN EUROPE COULD BE DOMINATED FROM MOSCOW. THAT WAS HIS EXPECTATION."

VOICE:

IT WAS FOR THIS REASON, MISTER HARRIMAN AND OTHER SPEAKERS CONTENDED, THAT NO ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO NEGOTIATE SO-CALLED "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE" BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. INSTEAD, AMERICAN POLICY FOCUSED ON THE ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION OF WEST GERMANY AND OTHER COUNTRIES THROUGH THE MARSHALL PLAN.

THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT ALLOW THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IT HAD OCCUPIED ACCEPT AID UNDER THIS PROGRAM, BUT THE FORMER U.S. MILITARY GOVERNOR AND HIGH

COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY, JOHN MCCLOY, SAID THE PROGRAM PROVED ITS WORTH.

MISTER MCCLOY SAID WEST GERMANY'S SO-CALLED ECONOMIC "MIRACLE" WAS ONLY ONE PART OF ITS RECOVERY UNDER OCCUPATION. "WE HEARD A GREAT DEAL" -- HE SAID -- "ABOUT THE RECURRENCE OF NAZISM, BUT THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM THAT THEY BUILT UP WAS A VERY GOOD ONE INDEED, A POLITICAL SYSTEM QUITE AS MIRACULOUS AS THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY."

GH/PBM